

GOVDOC

M3/B16
ADS
33
1890

PUBLIC SPIRIT.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 9999 06584 259 1

ORATION.



JULY 4, 1890.

PUBLIC SPIRIT.

ORATION

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS OF BOSTON,

ON THE

ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF
THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE,

JULY 4, 1890,

BY

HON. ALBERT E. PILLSBURY.



BOSTON:
PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE CITY COUNCIL.

MDCCCLXXX.

CITY OF BOSTON.

IN BOARD OF ALDERMEN, July 7, 1890.

Resolved, That the thanks of the City Council be hereby expressed to Hon. Albert E. Pillsbury for the patriotic and eloquent Oration delivered by him before the city authorities on the Fourth of July, in commemoration of the One Hundred and Fourteenth Anniversary of American Independence, and that he be requested to furnish a copy thereof for publication.

Passed unanimously. Sent down for concurrence.

WILLIAM POWER WILSON,
Chairman.

IN COMMON COUNCIL, July 10, 1890.

Concurred unanimously.

HORACE G. ALLEN,
President.

Approved July 12, 1890.

THOMAS N. HART,
Mayor.

A true copy.

Attest :

EDWIN U. CURTIS,
City Clerk.



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2012 with funding from
Boston Public Library

ORATION.

MR. MAYOR, FELLOW-CITIZENS:—

WE meet to-day on the common ground of American citizenship. In the celebration of the national anniversary we forget all sectional divisions, all diversities of political opinion, all prejudices of race or creed. We remember only our common sympathies and interests in the present, our common hopes and desires for the future. It is no time for the expression of narrow views, cynical criticism, or gloomy prognostications. It is, and it ought to be, a day of thanksgiving and mutual congratulation, and none the less a day for the wise and patriotic counsel which will reanimate the sense of public duty, rekindle the national spirit, and renew our fidelity to the interests of our common country.

In the multitude of associations which crowd upon us we think first of the great men of the Revolution. Their deeds and their memory are the common theme of this celebration. It would be a

grateful task to pay again the pious tribute to the fathers, but we shall not fail in reverence to them if we turn from the paths of patriotic reminiscence to the stonier, but perhaps no less fruitful, ground of inquiry and practical suggestion. The day belongs to the future no less than to the past. Coming to this task with little opportunity for preparation, I cannot attempt to entertain you with the fruits of research, much less with the graces of oratory. My contribution to these exercises must be of another character, though, I trust, not wholly inappropriate to the occasion.

We are reminded by recent public utterances that some of our fellow-citizens, of eminent virtues and not wanting in patriotism, seem to find our times hopelessly out of joint. They read in every passing event the signs of apprehension for the future. If they are right, this celebration is an empty form. "I have not the slightest interest in any holiday," said Emerson, "except as it celebrates real, and not pretended, joys." This is a just and wholesome sentiment. We ought to share it; and if we share it we ought to look about us and consider our situation. And if we find in the survey of our affairs, that which will inspire us with renewed courage, strengthen our faith, re-

kindle our patriotism, and carry hope and confidence even to doubting hearts, we shall celebrate this day to some purpose.

We need not fear to make the trial. I believe that we may look at the present and the future with tranquil eyes. Our government is not going to destruction; our institutions are not falling into decay. There are some evils which affect all society and all government, and from these we cannot hope to be exempt. There are some which inevitably attend our growth in wealth and numbers, which call for attention and remedy. But we may compare our condition to-day with that of any other nation; we may compare it with our own condition at any former period of our history, and we shall find the comparison favorable. Fortune has lavished all her gifts upon us. Everything which material abundance can contribute to human comfort and happiness is ours. We have outrun all the richest nations on the earth in the race of prosperity. We have developed a capacity which seems illimitable to absorb the surplus populations of the four quarters of the earth, without any visible check to progress or serious disturbance of social order. We are at peace with all the world, and so we are likely to remain; and, with prudence and wisdom in the use of their splendid

opportunities, no people under this day's sun has more to rejoice in, less to fear, or more to hope for, than the American people.

Our safeguard and defence is in the awakening of PUBLIC SPIRIT, and the sense of public duty. This is the paramount need of our times. Public spirit was the virtue which distinguished the fathers of the Revolution. The Declaration of Independence was the fruit of it. The resistance of the colonists against the invasion of their chartered rights, which led up to the Declaration, the war, and the conquest of independence which followed and vindicated it, the establishment of the United States under the constitution, all the great and memorable events which culminated in the American republic, were born of the generous and patriotic impulse which moves noble minds to sacrifice private interest to the public good. This is Public Spirit. It is the sense of duty applied to public affairs. It was this, which, under Omnipotence, created our government, and this is the force which must maintain it. It is the only sure defence against popular apathy, and the indifference of the people to their public interests. To arouse it and keep it alive is the first duty of prudence and patriotism, and on this, in spite of all evil forebodings, we may depend to carry us safely

among the rocks and shoals which lie in the course of popular government.

The need and the duty of public spirit is a subject of increasing attention. It is the frequent theme of orators and scholars, and of the public press. We are often reminded of the growing indifference of the people to their public affairs. It is said that public virtue is deteriorating; that politics are becoming mean and mercenary; that public men are not up to former standards of character and capacity; that public office is more and more sought from unworthy motives, and for selfish ends; that party spirit and party discipline are too potent in the conduct of the government; that our legislation is on a lower level, and that the general tone of public affairs is declining. These complaints are not without foundation, but they are in part the result of illusion. They are by no means new or peculiar to our own day. There never was a time when we were not threatened with some real or fancied danger. There never was a time when some prophet of evil did not foretell the overthrow of our government. We have always been confronted with the ancient doctrine that democracy only lays a surer foundation for despotism. But we have safely weathered all the

storms which have broken upon us, and even the earthquake-shock of civil war only settled the government more firmly upon its foundations.

If public spirit is declining, the decline must be stayed; if it sleeps, it must be awakened. We need not lose confidence; we must not omit caution, nor forget the maxim, which contains the essence of all political wisdom as applied to popular government, that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance. We have fairly entered upon a period which, to the republics of ancient times, has proved to be the period of decline,—a period in which new sources of mischief are opened, different from those to which we have hitherto been exposed,—the period of wealth and luxury, in which the people are liable to be seduced from proper attention to their public interests by the pursuit and enjoyment of riches. It has been said by a political philosopher that while danger to a small republic comes from without, to a great republic it proceeds from within. We have nothing to fear from foreign power; we must turn the eye of vigilance upon ourselves. It was long ago foreseen that one result of the unexampled opportunity for the acquisition of wealth, afforded by our resources and our laws, would be to divert the attention and the energies of the people from

public affairs to the pursuit of private gain. We are beginning to realize this result. It is not a source of danger if it is met with a quickened sense of public duty on the part of the whole people. We cannot expect to enjoy the fruits of the prosperity which has made the United States the first nation in the world in aggregate wealth, and in the annual production of wealth, without the difficulties which seem inseparable from such a situation. We are reaping its benefits in every avenue of enterprise and philanthropy; in the march of industrial development, moving at a pace and upon a scale of which history affords no example, and in the boundless liberality of private munificence, manifested in the endowment of schools, libraries, museums, hospitals, and in every form which can increase the comfort and promote the progress of society. These are all proofs of public spirit, but to be effective for the security of popular government public spirit must be carried into the actual work of government by the whole body of the people.

A natural tendency of the increase of wealth is to divert the highest talent from the service of the State to the fields of private enterprise. The result may be that as the government loses strength while power increases in private hands,

its integrity is exposed to the most insidious attack by corruption of the sources of the law. Against this peril we must be perpetually on guard. No feature of our present situation calls more loudly for the public attention. But the remedy is in our own hands. The personal contribution by every citizen of his share of active effort to secure the integrity and efficiency of the public service will put an effectual check to the operation of this malignant influence in our public affairs. The evil must be cured by making it impossible. It will shrink and disappear before the eye of public vigilance, and the resolute voice and the strong hand of public condemnation.

It is natural that the people should be indifferent and inactive in proportion as they see less urgent need of interference in public affairs. They will always rise to a great emergency; but it is not safe to wait for an emergency. In times of peace and prosperity the edge of the public vigilance is dulled by a general sense of security. Under our government, our personal and political rights have come to be so much a matter of course that we are apt to overlook and to forget the duty and necessity of active and general participation in public affairs, which is the vital force of popular government. The affairs of the people

are our own affairs. There is no room for indifference or evasion of duty on the part of any citizen in a government of which every citizen is an essential part. The soul of our system is in the intelligent and conscientious exercise by the whole people of all their political rights. The integrity of the whole depends upon the efficiency of every part, and this demands the watchful eye and the active hand of every member of the political body.

It is a subject of frequent remark that those who ought to be our best citizens are most indifferent to the public interests. Doubtless, this is sometimes overstated. There are conspicuous examples, which attract the public notice and fill too large a space in the public eye. It cannot be said with truth that the general character of public men or of the public service is declining. The picture is often painted by critics of our public affairs in darker colors than the true image ought to bear. It is natural to contrast the present with the past to our own disadvantage, but the past is always viewed through the illusion of time. In thinking of the great statesmen of former generations we are liable to forget that all the public men of their times were not great men. But we cannot measure an age by the few colossal figures that

remain visible only because they towered above their contemporaries. If the great historic names which still survive among us have largely disappeared from the roll of our public men, this is no proof of a general decline in the public service. The resources of our country attract ability of the first order to the fields of industrial and commercial development. A public career is no longer, as once it was, the only path open to enterprise and ambition; and if the public service suffers, as undoubtedly it does to some extent, by the diversion of high talent into other channels of usefulness, or from the reluctance of citizens best fitted for it by interest and training to accept public office, the benefit of their skill and genius is still secured to us in the development of our material resources, and the promotion of the general prosperity.

There is no surer way to attract the highest character and talent into public life than to awaken the general public sentiment to a sense of the responsibilities of citizenship, and the honor conferred in the bestowal of public position. Let it be understood that there is no more honorable service than the service of the State. The more it is sought by unworthy men, the more it is the duty of good citizens to put them-

selves at the front. Let us not yield to the cowardly and unpatriotic sentiment expressed in the speech of Cato, "When vice prevails and impious men bear sway, the post of honor is a private station." The post of honor is always the post of duty, and the call of duty is loudest when the public service becomes debauched by men who could find no place there if public spirit watched and guarded the avenues to public position.

The proper conduct of our government calls upon all citizens clothed with the right of suffrage for the exercise of the voting power. It is not to be regarded as a privilege. It is a paramount duty. There is a large body of our citizens who totally eliminate themselves from public affairs, and withhold their proper contribution from the general body of influence and opinion which ought to find expression in the conduct of government, by neglecting even the ballot. It is familiar to us that in every election the political parties have to beat their drums to summon the people to the polls. There is no more urgent need in our public affairs than to keep in the public mind the vital importance of the work of every man's hand in the political fabric. The Athenian republic punished its citizens who neg-

lected their public duties. But the law did not save Athens, and no State can find security in the penalties of the law. Popular government must rest upon the firmer foundation of public spirit and the willing and active interest of its citizens. Its base must be as broad as the whole body of the people. The conduct of such a government is no mechanical process. It cannot be made automatic. It calls for diligence and for sacrifice, and all devices for performing our political duties vicariously or without some cost of time and trouble are deceptive and vain.

We offer various excuses for the neglect of public duty. We live in an active age; the calls of private business are exacting; we fancy that we can better afford to answer the call of a political ring for plunder by increased diligence in our offices and counting-rooms than by taking from our private affairs the necessary time to attend public meetings, serve on political committees, or even to go to the primaries or the polls once or twice a year, to secure good government. This is not good citizenship, and it is poor economy. Every hour withheld from public duty has to be paid for in the general inefficiency and failure of government which sooner or later falls upon every one of us. The people,

as a whole, are always in favor of good government. If the whole power of the people can be brought to bear, they can have it and will have it. The most serious defects in the operation of our political system can be traced directly to the abdication by citizens of their part in public affairs, and the absence from the polls of a substantial share of the voting power. To this extent there is a failure of popular government, which is government by the whole people. It is no justification of this neglect of duty to say that the "political machine" is too powerful to be successfully attacked or overthrown. The power of the so-called "professional politician" is overrated. It is formidable only as seen from a distance, or with disordered vision. Political machinery, indeed, has been found inseparable from our political system; but the political "machine," in the modern offensive sense, exists only by sufferance, where it exists at all, and one of the most valuable results of its destruction will be that it can no longer be made the scapegoat for neglect of political duty by those who love private ease better than they love good government.

The way to test the strength of the political "machine" is not by crying out against it, but by measuring forces with it, and putting it to proof.

The time has not yet come when the hand of dishonest political manipulation can prevail against the united strength of the people who seek good government with a resolute will to secure it. One blow of the popular arm destroyed the most powerful corrupt combination ever known to American politics, and the same thing can be done whenever the people are in the mood to do it. But if they wait until the chain is riveted so firmly that nothing but a great popular upheaval will break it, there is a new source of danger in the violence of the remedy. For political as for other ills, prevention is better than cure. The true remedy is in the public spirit and public vigilance which are always awake and active to guard against even the approach of danger.

It is not enough merely to cast a ballot at the polls. The operation of our political machinery is such that attendance and participation in the primary meetings is of equal importance. Experience has settled that the people will always be divided into parties on most questions of government, and the vote of political parties can only be made effective by concentration upon candidates selected in advance of the election. The caucus has been, and is, the subject of much complaint; and it ought to be, so far as it is mismanaged

or perverted to defeat rather than secure its true object. The remedy for the perversion of the caucus, however, is not to complain of it, but to take charge of it. The caucus cannot be mismanaged to defeat the popular will if the popular will is that it shall not be mismanaged, and if that determination is carried into effect. But the caucus cannot be controlled at the fireside, in the club, or even in the columns of the newspapers. The work must be done by hand and upon the spot. To a large share of our citizens the primary political meeting is as unaccustomed and unknown as the regions of space. From distaste, it may be, and disinclination, they hold themselves wholly removed from the details of political work. . But the point upon which the operation of our political system turns, — and it turns upon this point more than any other, — is not beneath the attention nor apart from the duty of any citizen. He may find the task of attendance inconvenient, and the associations not wholly to his liking; but this is a duty that cannot safely be neglected or left to other hands. It is idle to expect that temptation and opportunity held out to unscrupulous self-interest will not be availed of for purposes of mischief. Good citizens, who are willing to make the sacrifice of time and inclination in the unselfish desire to

secure good government, are entitled to the coöperation of their neighbors of like disposition. It is to-day the most important and difficult problem of practical politics to secure a full and fair expression of the whole constituency in the primary political meetings. It cannot be done by act of the Legislature, or by any device which does not include personal interest and personal effort. This, and this alone, will reform the caucus; and nothing will contribute more to the good government of our communities than the willing attendance and active participation of unselfish and public-spirited citizens, which will make the primary political meeting the safe and acceptable expression of the intelligence and character of the party which it represents.

And here again it may be that this call to public duty is needed most by those of our fellow-citizens who are supposed to have the largest stake in good government, and who ought to have the deepest sense of public duty and the personal responsibility of the citizen. If it were permissible to classify our citizens, it would have to be said that the danger of popular apathy proceeds from above. The man who eats his bread in the sweat of his brow is not regardless or neglectful of his political rights or duties. Popular govern-

ment must always depend for security upon the willing hearts and strong hands of the masses of the people. This, after all, is the propulsive force which carries on free government. But the obligations of citizenship are strongest upon those who, by training and opportunity, are best fitted for the practical discharge of its duties. The broad view and the sympathetic insight necessary to take in the spirit and the needs of popular government ought to be among the fruits of culture, and culture ought to develop the best citizenship. We hear much of the "scholar in politics." He is needed and is welcome there; not as a critic, with airs of superiority, but as a helper in the work. The place of the scholar in politics is side by side with his fellow-citizens to whom the advantages of culture have been denied. He can be of more service there than in proclaiming from his pedestal that the tone of public life is lowered, that public duty and the public service are beneath the attention of intelligence and self-respect, and that contact with public affairs will impair character and destroy reputation. No influence has done more to create indifference on the part of the best citizens to their public duties, and inspire them with reluctance to mingle in public affairs, than these false notions, too much promoted in our times. No

doctrine can be more pernicious, and none is farther from the truth. It is the offspring of the political cynicism which takes the lowest view of public duty; which does not comprehend the significance or feel the true spirit of popular government. There is nothing in the state of our public affairs, conceding all fair criticism, to warrant the existence, much less the propagation, of this false sentiment, the inevitable result of which must be to depress the tone of public life by debauching the public mind into disrespect for that which ought to be the object of the worthiest ambition and the highest sense of duty.

If it were true that public life is so debased as to repel instead of attracting the highest character and talent, so much the more imperative would be the obligation upon all good citizens to come forward and redeem our affairs from this reproach by raising the fallen standards of public spirit and public virtue. But it is not true. The same sort of criticism has appeared at every period of our history. It is in reality directed, not against the conduct of government, but against popular government itself. Some of our censors do not find government by the people quite good enough for them. It is not everything it should be. No government ever was

or ever will be, until human nature is transformed. We take the defects with the merits of the system. Popular government is weakest in the details of administration; its strength is in the security which it affords to the great principles which underlie personal rights and popular liberty. It is not, and is not designed to be, government by the rich, the wise, or even the virtuous, save so far as wealth, intelligence, and character can be brought to bear upon it through public opinion expressed in a majority of votes at the polls; and to make this the voice of character and intelligence is the highest duty of public virtue and public spirit. Popular government, in its practical operation, is government by the great body of average public opinion. It demands the concessions on which all government is based. It must be, and in the long run it will be, a fair reflection of the general sentiment and character of the people. It will not, as a rule, rise above the general level nor fall below it, and its integrity is to be maintained by the public spirit which elevates and purifies the tone of public opinion in its operation upon public affairs.

There is no place in our political system for the pharisaism which looks with contempt or indifference upon public duty, and, "with mincing

gait and sneer of cold disdain," passes by the practical work of government; and especially is there no place for it in the education and training of the youth, in whose generous impulses and high aspirations are the hope and security of our future. The highest end of education is not learning, but character. The noblest product of culture is a good citizen. Teach the young men to know their government and to believe in it. Fill their minds with the glorious memories and examples of our history. Teach them the significance of the memorial tablets on the walls of yonder college hall, that love of letters may go hand in hand with love of country; and burn into their hearts with the fire of patriotism the lesson that there is no higher privilege and no nobler duty than that which belongs to an American citizen.

I cannot forbear to remind you of the splendid example of patriotism and public duty soon to be brought home to us. We are about to welcome to our hospitality the veteran soldiers of the war for the Union. We are accustomed in these times to hesitate at the inconvenience involved in the discharge of the commonest public duties, in peace and safety, within sight of our own homes; here are a

hundred thousand men who sealed their devotion to their country with willingness to die in her defence. They went at no call save that of her peril; they returned with no decoration save honorable scars and the thanks of a grateful people. Their presence will be eloquent with the lesson which they taught their countrymen with bared breasts on the field of battle. We are told that we must forget the war. We do not recall it with any ungenerous or vindictive spirit; but patriotism is still a virtue, and loyalty to our country is not to be overlooked or forgotten. It is easy now, in the security of peace, to make light of the deeds and the sacrifices of the men who fought for the Union. "He jests at scars that never felt a wound." Direct the voice of reproach, if you will, against any who would make them the sport and subject of ambition, but the citizen soldiers of the republic are no "prætorian guard" and no band of mercenaries. There was a time when they were not held in light esteem. There are many here who remember the days when they looked at each other with blanched faces at the news of the latest defeat, and turned to the defenders of the country in the field as their only hope and succor. The debt of patriotism and gratitude is not outlawed, and the good

city of Boston will hang out all her banners, and put on all her holiday attire to greet and welcome the Grand Army of the Republic.

The government for which they fought will be maintained. The stream will not always run clear, but its source in the heart and conscience of the people will not be corrupted. The national character has been tried by severe tests. It withstood the blighting influence of slavery, and it did not yield even to the white-heat of civil war. The people can be trusted. They are sound at the core. The great questions on which the integrity of government depends are safe in their hands. They have been right on these questions when all the statesmen were wrong. They will often move slowly, but they will move in the right way. Let us, then, look forward with hope and confidence, trusting in the God-fearing, law-abiding character of the American people, "rich in saving common-sense," grounded in love of justice and order, and vital with public spirit, to keep secure the great trust committed to their hands.

A LIST
OF
BOSTON MUNICIPAL ORATORS.

By C. W. ERNST.

BOSTON ORATORS.

APPOINTED BY THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES.

For the Anniversary of the Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770.

NOTE. — The Fifth-of-March orations were published in handsome quarto editions, now very scarce; also, collected in book form, in 1785, and again in 1807. The oration of 1776 was delivered in Watertown.

1771. — LOVELL, JAMES.
1772. — WARREN, JOSEPH.
1773. — CHURCH, BENJAMIN.
1774. — HANCOCK, JOHN.
1775. — WARREN, JOSEPH.
1776. — THACHER, PETER.
1777. — HICHBORN, BENJAMIN.
1778. — AUSTIN, JONATHAN WILLIAMS.
1779. — TUDOR, WILLIAM.
1780. — MASON, JONATHAN, JUN.
1781. — DAWES, THOMAS, JUN.
1782. — MINOT, GEORGE RICHARDS.
1783. — WELSH, THOMAS.
-

For the Anniversary of National Independence, July 4, 1776.

NOTE. — A collected edition, or a full collection, of these orations has not been made. For the names of the orators, as officially printed on the title pages of the orations, see the Municipal Register of 1890.

1783. — WARREN, JOHN.¹
1784. — HICHBORN, BENJAMIN.
-

¹Reprinted in Warren's Life. The orations of 1783 to 1786 were published in large quarto; the oration of 1787 appeared in octavo; the oration of 1788 was printed in small quarto; all succeeding orations appeared in octavo, with the exceptions stated under 1863 and 1876.

1785. — GARDINER, JOHN.
 1786. — AUSTIN, JONATHAN LORING.
 1787. — DAWES, THOMAS, JUN.
 1788. — OTIS, HARRISON GRAY.
 1789. — STILLMAN, SAMUEL.
 1790. — GRAY, EDWARD.
 1791. — CRAFTS, THOMAS, JUN.
 1792. — BLAKE, JOSEPH, JUN.²
 1793. — ADAMS, JOHN QUINCY.
 1794. — PHILLIPS, JOHN.
 1795. — BLAKE, GEORGE.
 1796. — LATHROP, JOHN, JUN.
 1797. — CALLENDER, JOHN.
 1798. — QUINCY, JOSIAH.³
 1799. — LOWELL, JOHN, JUN.²
 1800. — HALL, JOSEPH.
 1801. — PAINE, CHARLES.
 1802. — EMERSON, WILLIAM.
 1803. — SULLIVAN, WILLIAM.
 1804. — DANFORTH, THOMAS.²
 1805. — DUTTON, WARREN.
 1806. — CHANNING, FRANCIS DANA.⁴
 1807. — THACHER, PETER.^{2,5}
 1808. — RITCHIE, ANDREW, JUN.²
 1809. — TUDOR, WILLIAM, JUN.²
 1810. — TOWNSEND, ALEXANDER.
 1811. — SAVAGE, JAMES.²

² Passed to a second edition.

³ Delivered another oration in 1826. Quincy's oration of 1798 was reprinted in Philadelphia.

⁴ Not printed.

⁵ On February 26, 1811, Peter Thacher's name was changed to Peter Oxenbridge Thacher. (List of Persons whose Names have been Changed in Massachusetts, 1780-1883, p. 23.)

1812. — POLLARD, BENJAMIN.⁴
1813. — LIVERMORE, EDWARD ST. LOE.
1814. — WHITWELL, BENJAMIN.
1815. — SHAW, LEMUEL.
1816. — SULLIVAN, GEORGE.²
1817. — CHANNING, EDWARD TYRREL.
1818. — GRAY, FRANCIS CALLEY.
1819. — DEXTER, FRANKLIN.
1820. — LYMAN, THEODORE; JUN.
1821. — LORING, CHARLES GREELY.²
1822. — GRAY, JOHN CHIPMAN.
1823. — CURTIS, CHARLES PELHAM.
1824. — BASSETT, FRANCIS.
1825. — SPRAGUE, CHARLES.⁶
1826. — QUINCY, JOSIAH.⁷
1827. — MASON, WILLIAM POWELL.
1828. — SUMNER, BRADFORD.
1829. — AUSTIN, JAMES TRECOTHICK.
1830. — EVERETT, ALEXANDER HILL.
1831. — PALFREY, JOHN GORHAM.
1832. — QUINCY, JOSIAH, JUN.
1833. — PRESCOTT, EDWARD GOLDSBOROUGH.
1834. — FAY, RICHARD SULLIVAN.
1835. — HILLARD, GEORGE STILLMAN.
1836. — KINSMAN, HENRY WILLIS.
1837. — CHAPMAN, JONATHAN.
1838. — WINSLOW, HUBBARD. "The Means of the Perpetuity and Prosperity of our Republic."
1839. — AUSTIN, IVERS JAMES.
1840. — POWER, THOMAS.

⁴Three editions. Reprinted also in his *Life and Letters*.

⁷Reprinted in his *Municipal History of Boston*.

1841. — CURTIS, GEORGE TICKNOR. "The True Uses of American Revolutionary History."⁸
1842. — MANN, HORACE.⁹
1843. — ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS.
1844. — CHANDLER, PELEG WHITMAN. "The Morals of Freedom."
1845. — SUMNER, CHARLES.¹⁰ "The True Grandeur of Nations."
1846. — WEBSTER, FLETCHER.
1847. — CARY, THOMAS GREAVES.
1848. — GILES, JOEL. "Practical Liberty."
1849. — GREENOUGH, WILLIAM WHITWELL. "The Conquering Republic."
1850. — WHIPPLE, EDWIN PERCY.¹¹ "Washington and the Principles of the Revolution."
1851. — RUSSELL, CHARLES THEODORE.
1852. — KING, THOMAS STARR.⁴
1853. — BIGELOW, TIMOTHY.¹²
1854. — STONE, ANDREW LEETE.²
1855. — MINER, ALONZO AMES.
1856. — PARKER, EDWARD GRIFFIN. "The Lesson of '76 to the Men of '56."
1857. — ALGER, WILLIAM ROUNSEVILLE.¹³ "The Genius and Posture of America."

⁸ Delivered another oration in 1862.

⁹ There are four editions.

¹⁰ Passed through three editions in Boston and one in London, and was answered in a pamphlet, Remarks upon an Oration delivered by Charles Sumner . . . , July 4th, 1845. By a Citizen of Boston (said to be George Putnam, D.D.).

¹¹ There is a second edition. (Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields. 1850. 49 pp. 12°.)

¹² This and a number of the succeeding orations, up to 1861, contain the speeches, toasts, etc., of the City dinner usually given in Faneuil Hall on the Fourth of July.

¹³ As many as four editions were printed in 1857. (Boston: Office Boston Daily Bee. 60 pp.) Not until November 22, 1864, was Mr. Alger asked by the City to furnish a copy for publication. He granted the request, and the first official edition (J. E. Farwell & Co., 1864. 53 pp.) was then issued. It lacks the interesting preface and appendix of the early editions.

1858. — HOLMES, JOHN SOMERS.²
 1859. — SUMNER, GEORGE.¹⁴
 1860. — EVERETT, EDWARD.
 1861. — PARSONS, THEOPHILUS.
 1862. — CURTIS, GEORGE TICKNOR.
 1863. — HOLMES, OLIVER WENDELL.¹⁵
 1864. — RUSSELL, THOMAS.
 1865. — MANNING, JACOB MERRILL. "Peace under Liberty."
 1866. — LOTHROP, SAMUEL KIRKLAND.
 1867. — HEPWORTH, GEORGE HUGHES.
 1868. — ELIOT, SAMUEL. "The Functions of a City."
 1869. — MORTON, ELLIS WESLEY.
 1870. — EVERETT, WILLIAM.
 1871. — SARGENT, HORACE BINNEY.
 1872. — ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS, JUN.
 1873. — WARE, JOHN FOTHERGILL WATERHOUSE.
 1874. — FROTHINGHAM, RICHARD.
 1875. — CLARKE, JAMES FREEMAN.
 1876. — WINTHROP, ROBERT CHARLES.¹⁶
 1877. — WARREN, WILLIAM WIRT.
 1878. — HEALY, JOSEPH.
 1879. — LODGE, HENRY CABOT.
 1880. — SMITH, ROBERT DICKSON.¹⁷

¹⁴There is another edition. (Boston: Rockwell & Churchill, 1882. 46 pp.) It omits the dinner at Faneuil Hall, the correspondence and events of the celebration.

¹⁵There is a preliminary edition of twelve copies. (J. E. Farwell & Co., 1863. (7), 71 pp.) It is "the first draft of the author's address, turned into larger, legible type, for the sole purpose of rendering easier its public delivery." It was done by "the liberality of the City Authorities," and is, typographically, the handsomest of these orations. This resulted in the large-paper 75-page edition, printed from the same type as the 71-page edition, but modified by the author. It is printed "by order of the Common Council." The regular edition is in 60 pp., octavo size.

¹⁶There is a large-paper edition of fifty copies printed from this type, and also an edition from the press of John Wilson & Son, 1876. 55 pp. 8°.

¹⁷On Samuel Adams, a statue of whom, by Miss Anne Whitney, had just been completed for the City. A photograph of the statue is added.

1881. — WARREN, GEORGE WASHINGTON. “Our Republic
— Liberty and Equality Founded on Law.”
1882. — LONG, JOHN DAVIS.
1883. — CARPENTER, HENRY BERNARD. “American Char-
acter and Influence.”
1884. — SHEPARD, HARVEY NEWTON.
1885. — GARGAN, THOMAS JOHN.
1886. — WILLIAMS, GEORGE FREDERICK.
1887. — FITZGERALD, JOHN EDWARD.
1888. — DILLAWAY, WILLIAM EDWARD LOVELL.
1889. — SWIFT, JOHN LINDSAY.¹⁸ “The American Citi-
zen.”
1890. — PILLSBURY, ALBERT ENOCH. “Public Spirit.”

¹⁸ Contains a bibliography of Boston Fourth of July orations, from 1783 to 1889, inclusive, compiled by Lindsay Swift, of the Boston Public Library.
